

THE EXTENDED FAMILY

585 gives his wife some peremptory order. The husband's obligations and affections are still entirely contained within his own family of origin. Indeed his behaviour reflects an almost compulsive assertion that 'this is how it will always be'. Clearly if this fiction is to be maintained for even a short space of time, the husband must not display any affective interest in his bride, since this would inevitably disturb the equilibrium in the old pattern of his relations with his siblings and his parents. Therefore in his general behaviour the husband attempts to deny the importance of his exclusive sexual relationship with his bride and he makes every effort to conceal the occurrence and frequency of sexual intercourse. However, since all the members of a family sleep together in the same hut, this is not easy.

585 Before the marriage ceremony a temporary hut is built for the bridal pair, or sometimes a space is cleared in the hut which is otherwise used as a store-shed. Customarily the bridegroom does not go with the sheep for eight days from the Sunday of his marriage and he is thus able to sleep in privacy with his bride for six nights. Although this initial privacy is granted to him, the whole progress of these marital events is shared by the groom with his brothers; some of this information also leaks through to the female members of the family. In this first sexual communion the entire family identifies itself with the young husband. There is no question at this stage of his having any affection for his bride. This may emerge later partly as a result of the intimacies now initiated. It is something of an ordeal and a matter of considerable anxiety for all Sarakatsani bridegrooms that they should be able to effect a technically successful assault upon this strange woman and uphold their reputation for manliness in its most literal sense, a reputation which affects the prestige of the entire family. The stress on physical and moral manliness (*ἀνδριμύτης*) in the stereotype of the ideal man encourages in the Sarakatsani a deep-seated fear of sexual impotence on this critical occasion which is, indeed, almost a public ceremony of initiation. In the morning, success or failure on the previous night is discussed with brothers in embarrassed monosyllables and, if there has been difficulty, they try to give advice and encouragement. Any lack of sexual prowess almost inevitably reaches the ears of the bride's family and the possibility of a leakage farther afield cannot be overlooked.

THE STATUS OF THE BRIDE

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But with the return of the young shepherd bridegroom to his sheep this co-operative interest in his sexual relations ends. He may continue to sleep with his bride in privacy for one or two months but if he prolongs this period unduly it represents a clear breach in the solidarity of the family. Sexual intercourse becomes now progressively associated not with the proof of manliness, but with conjugal intimacy and solidarity. And in his attempt to maintain his relations with his family of origin unaltered and intact he uses great care to avoid any demonstration of this kind of interest in his bride. Sarakatsan sleeping arrangements are simple. Velenzas, thick woollen carpet-like blankets, are spread on the ground. The Sarakatsanos removes his shoes and his jacket, and another velenza is placed over him. It is the duty of the young bride to place the heavy enveloping velenzas over each member of the family in turn and then to put out the oil lamp before making her way to her husband's side. It is not generally very long before a concert of snores indicates that the family is asleep and it is then possible for the bride and groom under their heavy covering to exchange silent embraces. Silence, of course, is necessary to avoid discovery but in any case the Sarakatsani believe that speech during intercourse is shameful. At first light the bride is first on her feet to blow the embers on the hearth into a blaze and prepare the coffee. With these conventional arrangements it is possible for the physical solidarity of the family to remain relatively unimpaired, and for the bride and groom to enjoy marital intimacy without directly affronting the sensibilities of the husband's family of origin.

However, there is a further complication. Before his marriage the young shepherd returned from the sheep to spend a night at the family hut perhaps once in every three weeks; then he changed his clothes, had the luxury of a night under cover, and heard the family news and gossip. After his marriage he comes openly to the huts more frequently; but he cannot return more than once in every twelve or thirteen days without feeling some embarrassment that he is showing too much interest in a person who is still an interloper in the family circle, and a sense of shame that his sexual desires and intentions must be very evident. He therefore supplements his fortnightly visits with other clandestine meetings. The bride sleeps near the door,

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of good advice, telling him in detail how he must deport⁵⁸⁵ himself that day on the road and later at the home of the¹⁰⁵ bride.

At the home of the bride kinsfolk support her family in a⁵⁸⁵ similar manner, particularly in a number of situations where a⁶¹² measure of dramatized hostility is shown to the groom's party when they arrive to take away the bride; but these are episodes which I shall describe in the following chapter. The dressing and adornment of the bride, naturally, is a more elaborate affair than the preparation of the groom. In this, two or three senior²⁹⁴ married aunts or first cousins generally take a hand, assisted by the more sophisticated village dressmaker who in most cases has been responsible for cutting and sewing the white wedding gown. All through the long night of Saturday the bride sits in her parents' hut. She must not sleep for this would demon-⁵¹³strate an equanimity at odds with the grief she is expected to feel at the thought of leaving her parents and her home on the morrow. Her kinswomen sit closely round her. Two of them hold her hands. From time to time they sing the repetitive,⁵³³ intensely sad, songs that tell of the bride's departure from the only home she has ever known.

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In this chapter I have attempted to give a fuller description⁶¹² of the relations of collateral kin than it was possible to present⁵⁹³ in chapter three, where I was mainly concerned to describe the formal characteristics of the kindred. I mentioned, then, that various aspects of kindred relations might be seen in terms of an opposition between the solidarity of siblings and the principle of parental obligation, the former being the source of moral solidarity between kinsmen, the latter strongly influencing the isolation of the family group from the collateral kinsmen of its members. The 'free favours' which a man does without thought or calculation for an uncle, cousin, or nephew, are related to kinship solidarity, the qualities of which follow from the notion of an extensive sibling relationship; while calculated co-operation which involves the corporate wealth of family groups is influenced by the particularistic obligations of parenthood. As⁶¹² one might expect, those cousins, father's brother's children,⁶⁰⁵ whose families of origin were concerned in co-operative sheep

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person to redress the wrongs of rape and homicide. The solidarity of siblings is also passive, in the sense that the loss of prestige suffered by an individual on account of his evil or dishonourable acts equally affects his siblings. Therefore, the individual is responsible to his brothers and sisters for whatever he says or does. Only in the context of a vengeance killing do siblings generally escape the liabilities of passive solidarity; for the brother of a homicide is not generally considered to be a legitimate surrogate as an object of vengeance for the victim's family.

The emotional identification of siblings has its origin in the common experiences of early childhood. As children they sleep under the same blanket and eat from the same bowl. Older siblings look after the younger ones and protect them from the bullying of other children. There is an unthinking trust and loyalty. It is rarely possible to persuade an unmarried sibling to pass even a mildly adverse comment about a brother or sister. Usually personal secrets are not entrusted to anybody but a sibling of the same sex. Sisters discuss their fears and hopes of marriage, a subject which it would be shameful to mention even to their mother. Brothers share each other's anxieties about personal animosities and imagined insults.

The sympathy and emotional identification of sisters emerge with poignancy on the day of a girl's marriage. The unmarried sisters whom the bride leaves behind display a grief which in its public aspect is certainly conventionally expected, but for some days after the wedding they seem even within the privacy of the family hut to be stunned by the loss of their sister's accustomed presence. Sisters sense the dread and apprehension which the bride herself feels when she leaves the protective circle of her family to be given into the care of strangers. The violent shock of the sexual assault is also in their thoughts.

Unmarried brothers work together in service to the family flock. They are conscious that the physical survival of the family as well as its prestige depend in the last resort on the animals. This common dependence and service to the flock is another ground for their close identification. They do not work (as is the case in the co-operation of cousins or married brothers with separate households) with one eye on their partner to make sure that he is not shirking his share of the work. The mutual

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 585 a few of them white, some gray or a dark russet,
 583 but most of them black — the colors, indeed, of
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 [513] the flocks from which they had been shorn — and
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 585 many of them of a matted and shaggy texture, like
 rolled-up smoke. Scratchy blankets with angular
 patterns were piled in tall heaps, and pillows that
 looked as hard as granite, and the bride's black
 and white trousseau. In the center of the end wall,
 with bowed head and lowered eyelids and with
 her brown hands crossed over her midriff, the
 bride stood motionless. On either side of her on
 the floor sat her retinue of wild but subdued-look-
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 [576] ing girls. At our conventional wishes, "Kloriziki!"
 ("May the marriage be well rooted!"), she inclined
 her head a few inches but uttered never a syllable.
 Nor, beyond a stiff bow, did she or her lips move
 a fraction when other latecomers arrived and
 hobnobbed with Uncle Petro and us as indiffer-
 ently as if the figures at the
 other end of the room were
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 [292] effigies in an ethnological mu-
 seum. Their extraordinary out-
 fits, nearly identical except for
 the flowers and the gold coins
 that adorned the bride, were
 unlike anything I had seen
 before.

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 292 In those Greek villages where
 the women wear their regional
 costumes on feast days and for
 ceremonies — and there are still
 a large, though diminishing,
 number — and in some out-of-
 the-way spots where a simpler
 working version of this gala rig
 is worn on weekdays as well,
 one is astonished by the rich-
 ness and variety and grace:
 by voluminous skirts, expand-
 ing from tight waists, of Damascus brocade or
 Broussa velvet; by the soft and tilted mulberry-
 colored fezzes with long satin tassels, or gold-
 embroidered velvet pillboxes, or intricately ar-
 ranged silk kerchiefs; even, in one part of Mace-
 donia, by a headdress topped by a semicircular
 plume, like the helmet of Pallas Athene. There
 are satin-covered buttons, chased silver clasps,
 and oriental filigree from Yanina, and over the
 velvet boleros and the tight sleeves — or sleeves
 which may hang slashed and loose from the elbow
 like the petals of tulips — rivers of gold braid
 uncoil and ramify in flowing, oriental, baroque,
 and rococo flourishes as richly and elaborately
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 [184] as over an archbishop's cope. In the wilder moun-
 tains the costumes are stiffer and rougher, but
 the basic canon is a dazzling variety of color and
 material and a style that is fluid, feminine, and
 000 deeply romantic. The visions summoned up by

[p. 79-A]

[Text continues on p. 79-C]

/95 cont./

233 sold to livestock dealers. The sterile ewes are also sold.
(432)

With she-goats and kids the procedure is the same.

[232] Moreover, castration of a small number of male animals intended for consumption is also practiced.

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METHODS OF UTILIZATION AND CONSUMPTION

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Some goods obtained are at times directly usable or consumable without the necessity of supplementary intervention. There are others which must first be submitted either to preparation, improvement or transformation. For still others a few some arrangements suffice.

The concrete study of the different items classified according to corresponding needs will show us what, among the Sarakatsani are the various forms of intervention in question.

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The Dwelling and the Buildings Intended for the Animals.

The huts described serve, as we have seen, primarily for dwelling. The arrangements made to this end are the following:

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The small wall which protects the interior from rainwater also serves as a shelf /piece of furniture of support/. Household articles and especially blankets and rugs belonging to the family are placed upon it (fig. 62).^A Piled one on top of another all around the hut and covered by those which are considered the most beautiful in design or color, the blankets are always at the disposal of the occupants and thus become part of the decor of the hut.

• (513)

The "beds," also described above, which line the wall and finish it off are used chiefly to hold sacks, cooking pots, etc. (fig. 63).

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The fire is always burning in the hut. It is where the family prepare their meals and gather round to eat, warm themselves and sleep.

The smoke escapes to the outside through the boughs and leaves of the roof (fig. 76). It is true that when the fire is kindled the smoke rises and accumulates under the roof before being emitted, so that in practice one does not feel it below a height of 1.50 meters from the ground. And the Sarakatsani say that, on principle, "everybody must be
^A, [Fig. 62 appears on p.91--Analyst]

/96 cont./

354 seated during the kindling." Once the wood has taken hold, smoke accumulation is no longer to be feared, for the heated air rises and escapes slowly to the outside through the roof boughs.

342 /97/ Each hut is a single unit which is used at one and the same
182 time as sleeping quarters, dining room, kitchen, finally as workroom
592 for small tasks. Thus, the entire family life unfolds communally in the presence of all.

513 In the evening everybody, men, women, children, newly married couples, etc., lie down on the ground all around the hearth, their

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Fig. 78

513 heads toward the periphery of the hut. The floor is covered with rugs
(352) and outspread blankets. Moreover, no one undresses for sleeping. The rugs always remain spread out on the ground which is almost completely covered by them and is practically not visible.

352 At the left of the entrance there are two shelves on which utensils
353 and dishes can be set. (fig. 65). A

On the right side of the entrance a place is reserved for sacks containing food provisions (grains, flour, etc.), as well as a small tub full of water.

A. [Fig. 66 appears on p.93--Analyst]

/98 cont./

121 Sarakatsani art, we shall concern ourselves here with only the
128 first aspect of this problem.

In general, one may say that:

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[191] The ancient male costume of the Sarakatsani is almost identical
with the national costume of continental Greece (fig. 77).

On the other hand, the costume of the women shows striking
peculiarities. The austerity of shapes, colors and decorative
motifs is found nowhere else.

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352 As for the blankets and rugs, the peculiarities that differentiate
them from those produced in other regions of continental Greece
relate more to technology than to form and color.

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302
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Fig. 77

291 /107 cont./

294 of blouses, and undershirts are one-piece /droits/?/ garments.

291 The blouse or outer shirt is closed. The vests are open, like the

198 "kapa." However, when we go from the traditional apparel of the men

to the present-day apparel we see that the garment becomes more and more closed, if not overlapped (vest, jacket, "maliotto").

[191] The "progress," so to speak, of the garment as it approaches this final contemporary costume of the Mediterranean peasants, takes this course from open to closed and to overlapping.

The women's dress, the one we have called the work outfit becomes a dress with shoulder straps, where the bib is set directly on the pleated skirt.

294 It is suitable here to describe the method of pleating the skirt.

The latter is made out of a wide, straight band closed with a seam into which the flap of the opening is incorporated. At the height of the waist, the number of pleats desired are formed and secured with a seam. The operation is repeated at the bottom of the skirt, at the hem level, where the pleats are held in place with simple basting. Then the skirt is pressed between the hands and stretched out, so that the pleats are extended along the entire length; it is then tied together at several places with a cord. The whole thus looks like pleated bellows, so to speak. After that the bundle is dipped in a cauldron filled with water and brought to a boil. Now and then one removes the skirt and beats it with a paddle, being careful not to open the pleats. Finally, one removes it from the cauldron, lets it dry and undoes the basting at the bottom in order to free the pleats. The latter then stay indefinitely although the Sarakatsani women go to bed fully dressed.

[286] The fabric used for the skirt is, as we know, the "kaltsoskouti," the twill used for making certain male garments (vests, jackets, trousers or bourazana). For other clothing the "ordinary weave" is used.

291 /108/ Nevertheless, a large part of the items that make up the

439 clothing come from the outside market. The mocassins, for example, the ordinary belt as also the "siliachi," the display fez, the cap, the

/108 cont./

291 ornaments of the women (clasps, chains, etc.), as well as the cotton
439 fabrics for the "foustanella," for the shirt or for underclothing are
bought commercially.

294 Finally, the services of the tailor also come from the outside; an
445 itinerant tailor is called upon to make the "foustanella" and vests
177 of every sort.

294 The Sarakatsani make only their other clothing themselves.

513 Blankets and rugs

352 The description of blankets and rugs was given in connection with
the study of their manufacture.

As far as their use is concerned, it should be pointed out that
while the "tsolia" and the "fouskotto" are always used as rugs, the
blankets have the double role of covering human beings while they are
asleep and making them comfortable on the floor of the hut. A double
use which, however, does not take away from their character as blankets
for their second use is merely complementary. However, the "karamelotti"
blankets (fig. 40)^A are never used as rugs.

513 One other point remains to be stated: the Sarakatsani are not even
acquainted with sheets and mattresses. On the other hand, cushions and
pillows are widely used.

Food-Drink-Heat and Light

262 Food.

If we wish to classify in a hierarchical order the basic products
that enter into the food of the Sarakatsani we should mention first
milk and dairy products, then maize and wheat flour, then edible grasses,
vegetables, olive oil and last of all meat.

[439] All these subsistence goods are directly at the disposal of the
Sarakatsani except flour, oil and vegetables for which he must turn to
the economy of surrounding society on which he depends to this extent.

[251] /109/ Moreover, dairy products (cheese, butter), wheat and maize,

^A, /Fig. 40 appears on p. 66--Analyst/